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665 Although there are a number of minor political parties, Taiwan essentially has a one-party government run by the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party of China). The party maintains scattered branch offices throughout Taiwan such as the one in Hsin Tien which includes Talei Li in its area of responsibility. Several villagers have joined the party although only a few remain active.

66 Party membership is not necessary for important political offices as demonstrated by the elections conducted in the early part of 1968 when officials who were not members of the Kuomintang captured about 20% of the seats in the local elections and 10 of 71 provincial seats. Also, the mayors of two of the largest cities in Taiwan, Taipei and Kaohsiung, are not party members (Plummer, 1969: 19). Nevertheless, as revealed by these same figures, members of the Kuomintang captured a majority of the seats as usual. Moreover, successful candidates who do not belong to the Kuomintang usually run as independents rather than as members of an organized opposition party.

There are occasional arrests for political or ideological reasons and rumors of many more to such a degree that many rural people believe that to get involved in politics may be to court arrest.

Provincial Government

648 Taiwan is one province of the Republic of China with its capital near Taichung in central Taiwan. Its main

562 down to the township, which specifies there must be one
656 woman member for every ten representatives on all delib-
666 erative bodies. This law serves to increase the status of women and results in a consequent higher percentage of female membership in legislative bodies in Taiwan than in the United States.

666 At the county level, economic contributions are
662 important in winning elections. A man does not buy votes directly, but he may offer to contribute a school room or the like if he is elected. Although this is considered by most villagers to be quite honorable, contributions of money to local influentials rather than for public works is considered to be very bad and dishonest by most village leaders. No one in Sanlei is believed to have taken a bribe to influence votes but Sanlei villagers often cite one man in Erhlei and two in T'oulei as dishonest men who have been bribed. Citation of these men may be part of the factional differences in the li to be discussed later. In any case, the suspected Erhlei man is still consulted regularly for his knowledge about affairs outside the village and he continues to influence voting behavior in the li.

665 Hsin Tien Township is broken into two major factions which compete for political power. Talei Li belongs to the "inside the mountain" faction, the smaller and weaker of the two. Although the factions are more

665 important for township affairs and for such quasi-governmental units as the farmers' association or fruit cooperative, one faction may be mobilized by a county candidate who will then incur an obligation which must later be repaid. (These factions are considered more fully in a subsequent section.)

Local Government

178 621 Historically, self government on the local level has been a significant part of the Chinese system for the federal government rarely extended below the county level. [648] When Taiwan was controlled by the Japanese, partial local control at the community level was still a regular practice and in many respects today, there are still significant elements of traditional local control governed by a principle of consensus. Secret elections, majority vote, universal female suffrage, and voting individually rather than by families are new.

666 562 Some men are still seemingly not aware of the fact that their wives may vote as they wish in spite of their husband's instructions. I was told by more than one man that his wife would not vote for his candidate's opponent for that would just cancel both their votes while many other men just claimed their wives did not understand politics and asked them how they should vote. On the other hand, several village men actively promoted candidates by stating reasons for their selection in the presence of

632 chain of command of government from citizen to lin, li,
621 township, county, province, and republic. A li and a ts'un may cover exactly the same territory; a ts'un may contain two or more li; or a li may contain two or more ts'un. Since villages may vary in population from 50 to 12,000 or more, the village is not a reasonable unit for local government given the goal that the local units should all be nearly equal in population. Therefore, smaller villages have been combined into a single li and larger villages have been divided into two or more li. The formal system does take ts'un boundaries into consideration. For instance, although there are six lin in Sanlei ts'un, no lin cuts across ts'un lines to include members with conflicting ts'un identities.

632 Regional Factions in the Li

628 One of the two primary sets of factions in Talei
• 665 Li is regionally based, two villages at one end of the li,
621 T'oulei and Erhlei, opposed to the three at the other end, Sanlei, Szulei, and Wulei (see Figure 1). Because the Mainlanders in Wulei do not participate in li political activities, the factions are about balanced in population.
[648] Under the Japanese, each of these two factions existed as a pao in the Japanese system of local government for Taiwan.[3] Since each pao had different experiences with different sets of leaders, there is some historical as well

632 as regional basis to the competition.
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665 The ideological differences between these factions
621 may be based partly on occupational factors. Sanlei's end of the li has always been essentially a farming area while levels of non-agricultural employment were always higher at the other end of the li. Although the amount of available farm land per village was higher at Sanlei's end of Talei, the population of the two villages in the Erhlei faction nearly equalled the population of the three villages at the other end. Most people employed in other than farming pursuits tended to live in T'oulei or Erhlei. Currently, the li has one restaurant and two beauty operators. As would be expected, they are located in Erhlei's end of the li along with the school.

121 Sanlei and Erhlei are used as faction names because
621 the major rivalry is focused between these two villages
628 which occupy central points in the narrow valley that shapes
632 the li boundaries. Laboratory experiments with small groups
665 demonstrate that individuals occupying the most central positions in a communication pattern are most likely to be recognized as leaders (Bavelas, 1950). This process is particularly acute for a communication network structured in a straight line. Although results from laboratory experiments with small groups are not directly applicable to real, more complex situations, they do help formulate hypotheses to be tested. Although the leadership patterns

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621 in Talei Li focusing on Erhlei and Sanlei (see Figure 1)
628 are congruent with this communication theory, a decisive
632
665 test cannot be conducted with current data and variables.

621 The li elects a mayor and a representative to the
628 township council with the mayor having the higher rank.
632 In spite of the regional conflicts within the li which
666 were discussed above, there is basic recognition of the need for all to cooperate. For instance, the li will have only one mayor, one school, and one major temple. One compromise, now clearly established, is the fact that if one official of a political body is from one end of the li, then the second must be from the other. At the formal li level, this means that if the mayor is from one faction, the representative must be from the other. Campaigning and arguments are most vigorous but consensus is usually reached before the election.

It is difficult to determine how the compromise was originally established because everything was handled on an informal basis by reaching a consensus. At the time the two pao were combined into one li, each had an elected head, and in the first election, one head became the mayor and the other, the representative. In spite of the fact that the former Sanlei pao had a numerical superiority sufficient to elect its members to both positions, one official, as stated, was elected from the other pao. Almost everyone claimed that was the reasonable thing to do.

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121 Ideological Factions in the Li

The factions described above are based on territorial identity, i.e., competition for prestige, power, etc., between villages or combinations of villages which have persisted for an extended period of time. The use of faction in this regard is not consistent with usual anthropological analysis of local level factionalism (Nicholas, 1965:21-61; Turner, 1957; Siegal and Beals, 1960:394-417). That is, although these two units are conflicting political groups, they are corporate groups selected by residence in a community rather than by leaders relying on diverse principles (Nicholas, 1965:27-9). By analogy, each village may be viewed as a social organization like a university and the li as the Big Ten Conference in which the units cooperate in academic and athletic affairs although each is in competition with all others for prestige. The present combinations of villages are congruent with the former division into two pao which were in competition with each other for prestige. In spite of various leadership changes, it is not likely that the competition between villages will ever disappear although the combinations of villages may give way to a series of shifting alliances for the combinations based on old pao no longer have the corporate identity of the village.

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632 However, there is another pair of factions dividing the li which more closely approach the model described in

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665 traditional analysis. These two factions are related
632 respectively to two definitions of the main role of the mayor. One faction favors an internal emphasis: the mayor should focus on the local community and its internal affairs and the community should be relatively isolated from the wider society. The second faction favors an external emphasis: the mayor should be a bridge between the community and the wider society by serving to increase the influence of the li in the township and other governmental or quasi-governmental units.

665 As is usual, membership in each faction is recruited
121 around a leadership core and by means of a variety of appeals. Nevertheless, there are a number of socio-economic factors which help to distinguish between the respective members. Comparatively, in the United States, income helps distinguish between Republicans and Democrats, but income is not an absolute criteria for such social factors as religion, race, ethnic identity, and regionalism as well as the personal history of the individual may modify any factor or combination of factors. Similarly, in Talei Li, although each faction has a general ideological basis, there are multiple factors influencing identification.

665 I have employed the label "traditional" for the fac-
632 tion favoring an internal emphasis because the kind of
121 role it favors for the mayor seems more consistent with traditional local leadership patterns. Its members believe

665 632 121 the mayor should promote internal harmony, push local affairs, be a good advisor, and be chief mediator in disputes. It is felt that this requires an older landowner and farmer who will be respected and heeded. The members of this faction tend to be older and engaged in agriculture. The leadership is nearly identical with those who are most active in temple affairs and draws a larger share of its membership from the Sanlei end of the li.

I have employed the label "progressive" for the faction favoring an external emphasis because the kind of role it favors for the mayor seems more modern. Its members believe the mayor should establish and maintain good relationships in town, at the farmers' association, and with various other government units. Since the leaders in most of these outside units tend to be educated, worldly, and young (under 45), a mayor with similar characteristics would be facilitated in the establishment of good relationships. As might be expected, the general membership of this faction is younger and a significant percentage are engaged in non-agricultural activities although most leaders own land.[4] Also, most leaders and a larger share of the members are from Erhlei and T'oulei.

665 632 At the time of the study, the mayor (li chang) was from Sanlei, a sixty-two year old member of the "traditional" faction which had a slight numerical advantage in the li. The former mayor lived in Erhlei and was a member

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632 of the "progressive" faction. In the last election, each
665 faction had entered a candidate for mayor and one for
632 representative to the township council while a third mayor-
666 al candidate ran as an independent. In the weeks before the election, after much discussion and campaigning, it appeared the "traditional" candidate for mayor would win. Therefore, it was decided by the process of consensus previously discussed, that everyone should cooperate in his election and also, in accordance with the principle of shared prestige previously enunciated, elect the "progressive" candidate for representative who lived in T'oulei.

All candidates slated to lose save one attempted to withdraw, but only one, the independent, actually did withdraw. Both the government and the Kuomintang are encouraging free elections rather than consensus as a basis for selecting officials. Since an election which has only one candidate as a choice fails to give even an appearance of free elections, these outside units make it difficult for any candidate to withdraw once his name is up for an election. The former mayor who was then the "progressive" candidate for re-election did not cooperate in the compromise and continued to campaign but was badly defeated. Many villagers said the defeat was so bad because he was an unreasonable man who refused to cooperate. Although he

665 campaigned a year later for a farmers' association office,
666 he won neither the regular job nor the runner-up job. He
632 will likely be elected to some office again when he gets a little older; in villager terms, when he has had more experience.

665 The basic ingredients then for membership in a fac-
632 tion are occupation, age, and to a lesser degree, residence
571 in one end of the li or the other. However, leaders also tap kinship loyalties, business relationships, friendships and sworn brother associations in collecting adherents. Many people cannot be identified as members of either faction because the less affluent who are so dependent on others might be in a precarious position if a faction with which they were strongly identified lost an election.

665 Women do not significantly participate in local
562 politics although villagers are aware of certain important women at national levels. Although many village women do vote as their husbands expect, the percentage favoring the "traditional" faction is higher for women than for men. It seems there are enough female votes to swing any election. Several women explained that when the "progressive" faction was in control, more village men went to town more often and spent more money. Since they would prefer the men to stay home and save money, many women seldom vote for the "progressive" candidates.

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On one level, local politics can be seen to operate in a manner not unlike the system portrayed for a segmentary lineage system (Evans-Pritchard, 1940). In agnatic groups, the principle of segmental opposition functions such that there are a series of linked groups arranged in a hierarchal structure much like a modern organizational chart. The higher the level in the organization, the greater the number of underlying units which are connected. In any conflict or other sort of political action, one side gains support from every group to which it is linked up to the apical point which links it to the opponent's side and vice versa. As an aid to understanding, picture the form required in a formal English outline. An 'a' and a 'b' may be in conflict with each other but they unite when the '1' under which both are subsumed is in conflict with '2'; similarly, '1' and '2' drop their conflict when the 'B' under which both are subsumed is in conflict with 'A'; and so on for 'A' and 'B' when 'I' is against 'II.'

In applying this concept to Sanlei, note that there are two groups in conflict within the village, the "progressives" and the "traditionalists," although the latter is dominant. At the li level though, the whole village tends to unite and act as a single unit in opposition to other villages or to combine with the villages which once comprised one of the two former pao. Then, at the township level, Talei Li has been a member of the same regional

121 faction (discussed later in this Chapter) for several
• 665 years although, as previously stated, the li leadership
571 changed from "traditional" to "progressive" and back. The internal differences are relatively swallowed so as to present a united front at each succeeding level.

Local Officers and Procedures

632 The mayor is responsible for organizing corvee labor for civic improvement. He is also extremely influential in li-wide social and religious affairs for, although each of these has its own independent organizing committee, he is often an ex officio member and is usually an important advisor. It is helpful if the mayor has good relations in town so that political figures will be sympathetic to the community. For example, when an assessor [931] is sent from town to lower taxes in the event of a natural disaster, it is considered best if he already has positive feelings towards the village and a friendly attitude towards village leaders.

As can be seen from the above requirements, the mayor must be a persuasive man to be truly effective. Basic qualifications for office include literacy and flu- [212] [19] ency in Mandarin. Although there are no wealth require- [556] ments for office and Talei Li has never had more than one resident whose primary income was derived from rent, no poor man such as a farm laborer has ever held a high

474 elected by the Assembly), and a General Manager hired by the elected officials. The general manner of operation is not unlike that of American communities with a council and a "City Manager" system.

Farmers' Association Factions

474 Competition for the Farmers' Association General
• 665 Manager's job is very keen. There are two major factions in the Hsin Tien Farmers' Association which are regionally based in one sense but do carry different policy emphases.

The faction to which Sanlei belongs is called the "Inside the Mountain" group. Its members live in the more remote areas around Hsin Tien and appear to be less urban and more traditional in outlook. They generally feel the Farmers' Association should devote itself solely to direct agricultural activities and to maximizing high dividends.

The other faction is called the "Outside the Mountain" group and contains members who are generally more urbanized and progressive and who favor the recent trend to more extension work by the Farmers' Association and the like.

Individual members belong to units which elect officials to the overall Hsin Tien Association. Although the correspondence between the region and the factional affiliation are not absolute, there is a strong correlation. As the description of the two Farmers' Association factions suggests, they are related ideologically to the

474 665 factions previously described within Talei Li. Talei Li is strongly in the camp of the "Inside the Mountain" faction which is similar to the li "traditional" faction. Although the factions are reasonably balanced overall within the li, the "traditional" faction is in overwhelming control of the more restricted membership of the Farmers' Association.

Currently there are 21 members of the association board, 13 from the "Outside the Mountain" faction. Ten years ago, when there were fewer li represented in the association, there were 15 board members, 8 from the "Inside the Mountain" faction and 7 from the other. At that time, Talei Li was in the majority faction but today, Talei is in the minority faction for the recently added li have almost all become members of the faction which was previously a minority. Farmers' Associations have been enlarging their memberships vigorously and according to Sanlei villagers, too broadly interpreting which men are farmers. It did seem to me that some members I met in Hsin Tien were farmers in name only. In any case, the new members seem to favor many policies which are not of immediate direct profit to farmers.

474 666 The election of the board member to a term of four years is hotly contested in Talei Li, even more so than the election of the mayor. The member receives an attendance fee of $40.00 for the meetings which average twice

to support the majority but with a tendency to favor the dominant neighborhood for the two "compounds" located across the river were both agnatic relatives of the Liao who were the most common in the dominant neighborhood. The "below the water" people were against the installation for most already had a form of running water (the plastic hoses) and could gain few benefits for the large investment which would be required.

Active campaigning ensued. Arguments on one side appealed to village pride and to unity, the entire village working together so most would benefit while the opposing position stressed costs explicitly, but tapped some underlying resentment against the dominant neighborhood. Some appeals to the expenses required found favor among some "above the water" residents. The sworn brothers association cut across neighborhood divisions and stayed neutral, i.e., they did not actively campaign for either position. Since the Liao relatives in the "below the water" neighborhood voted on the basis of their pocketbooks and not on the basis of kinship, the proposal was defeated. There appears to be little local resentment and most of that is directed at a higher level government unit, the county, which set the district to include the entire village rather than the part which did not already have running water.

These two neighborhoods became factions which were mobilized around a specific issue, installation of the

621 water tower. Normally, there is little competition
• 665 between the neighborhoods although the "progressive" and "traditional" factions within the village do tend to be localized with the "below the water" and the "above the water" sections respectively although neither is totally
621 identified with a single neighborhood. The neighborhoods
574 do have some significance for visiting patterns, i.e., evening conversational groups are clustered in each of the two neighborhoods and at small weddings, if only a few guests in addition to kinsmen are invited, they tend to be drawn from the immediate neighborhood.

621 The lin (neighborhood) was mentioned previously as a formal political unit consisting of 10 or 11 contiguous households and headed by a lin chang (neighborhood leader). The lin is not an important informal social unit in Sanlei. It functions are required by higher administrative directives, but since it was seemingly created on the basis of geography (perhaps by an administrator looking at a map) rather than on the basis of social reality (visiting and friendship patterns), it is not a significant unit in structuring social life except for dividing the village into equal sized formal units.

Sanlei Ts'un Temple Association

346 The major unifying element in Sanlei village is the temple, an imposing modern structure (35 feet long by 18 feet deep) possessing an ornate roof. A large paper money